Civil Disobedience Calendar

Civil Disobedience is the topic of the 1970 Peace Calendar. Designed by Mark Morris, who did such a beautiful job on the Gandhi Centenary calendar, this year's will contain 60 civil disobedience action photos along with a reprint of Thoreau's renowned essay.

The price on individual copies is slightly higher this year—$2 instead of $1.75. However, for three copies, the price still is $5 and for six copies, $10-postpaid. Gift cards will be inserted upon request. ORDER NOW!

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We still have a limited supply of the "Groovy Gandhi Poster" advertised in the last WRL NEWS. The price is $2. (The $3 Day-Glo copies are out of stock.)

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1969

WRL NEWS

Published by the War Resisters League 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012, U.S. branch of the War Resisters International, a pacifist organization with affiliates in 53 countries. Ralph DiGia, Administrative Secretary; David McReynolds, Field Secretary; Jim Peck, Editor. *No 155*

HIROSHIMA DAY **INSIDE** THE PENTAGON

Barbara Reynolds of Phoenix crew fame and three longtime WRLers—Bent Andresen, Edward Gottlieb and Jim Peck (concealed from view)—read anti-war quotations in front of Army Secretary Resor's office. Behind Barbara is her 7-year-old grandson, Anthony. It was part of the Washington Action program initiated by A Quaker Action Group, and co-sponsored by other pacifist groups including WRL.

The five then proceeded to within 25 feet of Defense Secretary Laird's office, but before they could finish their reading, they were placed under arrest(except Anthony). Their case has been merged with those of others who in recent weeks have been arrested for reading the names of the war dead in the Pentagon's shopping concourse. They were tried before a federal magistrate in Alexandria, but a verdict has not yet been rendered.

VIRGINIA SENTINEL photos by Andrew Schneider

DETROIT GROUP FORMED

The Detroit Area WRL-FOR was established recently "because a number of people felt the need for a local group which represents the ideology of these two national organizations." One of its initiators is Victor Schumacher, longtime WRLer and World War 2 CO.

First street action by the group took place on Hiroshima Day. A draft counseling service has been set up. The group is headquartered at the home of Jim Lewis, 8443 Evergreen (Phone 584-5399). Detroit WRLers should contact the new group.

TWO *JERRY*s JOIN STAFF

After working this summer in the west coast regional WRL headquarters, Jerry Elmer of Great Neck, N.Y. has just started work at the national office in New York. After a period of training there, he will work on organizing high school students. While in high school, Jerry Elmer did a very effective job in this area. Just before coming to work in New York, he publicly refused to register and picketed his draft board for an entire week.

Jerry Coffin of Philadelphia will work on organizing WRL chapters across the country, a task for which there is an increasing demand. Frequently WRL receives letters from young people who want to establish a local WRL group but don't know how to go about it. Jerry Coffin, 24 years old, married and with a daughter—is a draft and tax resister.

The Peacemakers Sharing Fund (10208 Sylvan Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45241), which for over 20 years has been helping families of war resisters in economic straits, requests that you "tell families of resisters about the Fund, put us in contact with them by giving them our address and sending theirs to us—and send money to the Sharing Fund to be used to support people who are in need because of conscientious actions."

Because of the WRI Conference, debate of the draft board raids will be for *next* issue.

ENROLLMENT BLANK

Send to War Resisters League
339 Lafayette Street, N. Y., N.Y. 10012

WAR IS A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY.
I THEREFORE AM DETERMINED NOT TO SUPPORT ANY KIND OF WAR, INTERNATIONAL OR CIVIL, AND TO STRIVE FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALL THE CAUSES OF WAR

signature

address

city

state *zip code*

Washington Death March . . .

. . . starting at midnight, November 13 and continuing 36 hours until the morning of November 15. It will be a single file, solemn procession of 38,000 to 40,000 persons moving past the White House—each representing one who has been killed in Vietnam.

Coordinating the project for New Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam is Ron Young of FOR along with Abe Bloom of Washington Mobilization. For further information write to Susan Miller, Washington Action, 1029 Vermont Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20005 (Telephone 737-9500).

NEW LITERATURE

GRAMDAN—THE LAND REVOLUTION OF INDIA, a new pamphlet edited by WRI Secretary Devi Prasad about Vinoba Bhave's campaign 65c

WHY DRAFT REPEAL? Mark Morris answers questions about military conscription in this new AFSC pamphlet 25c

LETTER TO A SERGEANT by Leo Tolstoy, translated by Ronald Sampson 15c

A MESSAGE TO THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, a reprint of Paul Goodman's article in the New York Review of Books 25c

ORANGE AND GREEN, a Quaker study of community relations in Northern Ireland 50c

ABOUT ANARCHISM, by Nicholas Walters—a Freedom Press publication 30c

THE SCIENCE OF PEACE, a Bart de Ligt lecture to the Peace Academy in 1938 35c

UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT, its theory and policy, by various authors from different nations 50c

THE GENIUS AND THE APPARATUS, Ivan Svitack's account of the discoverer and theoretician of totalitarian dictatorship 10c

SCHOOL OF NONVIOLENCE, an international anthology edited by Satish Kumar 75c

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The Martin Luther King Memorial Library, a free circulating library of books on nonviolence, has been started by the Texas-Oklahoma-Arkansas area office of AFSC and would appreciate donations of books and magazine subscriptions. They should be addressed to AFSC, 109 West Durango St., PO Box 1398, San Antonio, Texas 78206.

WRLers HELP WRL

ALBANY, N.Y.—The Knickerbocker News, local afternoon paper, recently printed in its "Mail Bag" column a letter from Ted Emery of nearby Scotia lamenting local *non*participation in the peace movement.

It concluded: "Perhaps those people in Albany and Schenectady who are opposed to war, but have no contact with a peace group might try writing to War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012. This organization's purpose is to bring those who oppose war (for any reason) together, and help them to work nonviolently against it. The WRL is part of a worldwide organization called the War Resisters International. The WRL will be happy to send you information so that you will know more about the group before you consider membership."

EDITOR'S PS—To date we have received six inquiries as a result of Ted Emery's letter. Think how many we would receive if WRLers in other communities across the country followed suit. The only omission is that Ted did not in addition, name a LOCAL peace group which people can contact—maybe there is none.

* * *

FRESNO, CALIF.—Gary Livingston, wrote us recently "I am a member of WRL. I also am active in The Resistance in Fresno. My parents have long supported me in my pacifism. On August 25 my mother died of a cerebral hemorrhage at the age of 45. She had been a faculty member of Fresno State College and was strongly opposed to war.

"My father and I immediately set up a memorial fund for WRL in the name of Winifred Livingston. Along with many friends and relatives, we would greatly appreciate it if you would mention my mother's name and the memorial fund in WRL NEWS."

EDITOR'S PS—Enclosed in Gary Livingston's letter were three checks from contributors to the fund. Others were mailed to WRL directly. The letter predicts that more will be coming within the next few weeks.

* * *

As a result of Roger Priest's appeal to GIs to will their service-connected life insurance to WRL, three more have taken this action and have so notified the League. Anthony DeLeonardis at Stewart AFB, Tennessee, Walter Volmut at Fort Sam Houston, Texas and Maurice Weill III at Fort Benning, Georgia.

A teacher. Don Woolley, of Santa Margarita, California recently notified us: "Should my wife and I ever be killed, one half of my State Teachers' Retirement System benefits are to be paid to WRL."

"May the long time sun shine 'pon you, All love surround you . . .

by Randy Kehler

Near the close of the Council Meeting I passed a note to our General Secretary, Devi Prasad: "I think there is no one whose contribution to this conference has been greater than Ammani's."

Ammani is not the name of our Israeli or Pakistani delegate. Ammani is Devi's 7-year-old daughter—an incredibly beautiful, elf-like little girl whose great brown eyes and gentle grinning smile radiated joy and fullness all through our otherwise dull and rigid conference.

Honestly, the only thing that sticks in my mind about that final session, in which we had just three hours to figure out what we were going to do about imperialism in Latin America, the war in the Middle East, the war in Vietnam, apartheid in South Africa, U.S. nuclear weapons in Okinawa, the very existence of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the ecological atrocities all over the world, plus a long list of motions, minor proposals, and other trivia—the only thing that sticks in my mind is little Ammani quietly turning on the whole Council, one at a time, with the huge homemade greeting card she'd made to send to Bob Eaton in jail. "Will you sign it?" she whispered to me in her Alice-in-Wonderland-like *very* British accent, pointing to the list of signatures beneath her own. "And will you sign Jane's name, too, please?"

There's no doubt about it: conferences are definitely a drag. That is, the structured parts of conferences. After the WRI Triennial I know for sure why we on the West Coast have turned to non-conferences. (I also know why I'll probably never go back to graduate school.)

"The *Un*structured Parts"

The *un*structured parts of conferences are a different story altogether. This was especially true at Haverford this past week. No amount of dry, academic speechmaking or abstract, intellectual debating could alter the simple fact of some very wonderful and exciting human beings.

There was Michael—that is, Michael Randle, our Chairman—who just finished a 12-month sentence for sitting-in at the Greek Embassy in London following the military coup in Athens last year. Just after he was arrested, Ammani, who is Michael's friend, wrote, "Michael Randle said there should not be war, then they all said you should not say that. But he said it again. So he was sent to court." Michael is young and pretty serious most of the time, but he smiles a lot, too. In 1960 he was an advisor to Nkrumah and helped organize the Sahara anti-nuclear-testing march.

Harold Bing was there, too. He was Chairman before Michael. Harold went to jail three times for refusing to fight in the English Army in World War I. Somebody said Harold used to be a fiery young radical. He's still pretty radical in his thinking, it seems to me, though his style is a bit stodgy at times. After we showed our light-sound show on Wednesday night, Igal put his arm around Harold and said, "I think the Movement's in good hands, Harold." And Harold said, "Yes," and smiled.

When Gandhi first began his experiments with Basic Education, he had just one pupil. His name was Narayan Desai, and Narayan was with us at Haverford, too. Narayan's was the only formal presentation that really moved me. By his manner, as well as his content (he talked about the Indian Peace Brigade, of which he is head), he seemed to be saying: you don't have to shout to be a revolutionary. The revolution begins in your heart. Narayan danced and he sang. He even brought his spinning wheel.

Muriel Azmier is a rugged-looking, large-framed woman from Ottawa, and before that from England. She has piercing blue eyes, long silvery-gray hair, and wears clothes like a Gypsy. She told us one night about her poor father who was such a lover he couldn't bear to go to war. He told his wife, "Loving you as much as I do, how could I possibly go out and kill another woman's lover, and then come home to you?" Several years ago, Muriel and her husband Ben were arrested for sitting down in the middle of a U.S. Air Base in Thailand. Muriel is warm and friendly, has seven children, at least one grandchild, and speaks with great zeal about "woman power," or her version of it.

"These Strange and Beautiful People"

And then there was tiny Vo Van Ai who spoke of the Buddhists' struggle in Vietnam; Bill Sutherland, a black World War II draft resister who told of his work in Tanzania; Kevin McGrath, from Ireland, who looks like he comes straight out of the Haight-Ashbury; Heidi, the Italian woman with a cast on one leg; Uri, the austere, young Israeli who finally opened up and laughed; Janaki Tschannerl, a beautiful Indian woman married to an Austrian war resister, who said there was covert discrimination against women in the WRI; Jean Van Lierde, the former Belgian political advisor of Patrice Lumumba, who spoke no English.

What getting to know all these strange and beautiful people did for me was this: it gave me, for the first time, a very *real* feeling of world community. Before I knew it, the world had suddenly become much smaller, and the people in it much nearer particularly in spirit. I've always enjoyed tremendously meeting people from other countries. Meeting people from 21 different countries all in one week absolutely overwhelmed me, blew my mind! I feel as though my consciousness has been stretched over the entire globe.

Now let us think about this problem: how do we also have a good *conference*, once we've got good people to attend?

PUERTO RICAN DRAFT CASES QUIETLY DROPPED

Last November 12 the first of over 100 Puerto Rican induction refusers was tried in San Juan and acquitted on a technicality. The other cases were twice postponed.

Then, in late July, Thomas Dorney, WRL representative in Puerto Rico, wrote us that more than 30 of the cases had been quietly dropped "and maybe more," according to U.S. Attorney Francisco Gil Rivera, "because there were legal defects in the way they were drawn up." The suspension of prosecutions was brought to light when O. Lopez Pacheco, attorney for Jose Vasquez O'Neill, one of the induction refusers, announced that his client had been notified by the draft board that his induction notice had been cancelled. Vasquez O'Neill had been imprisoned when he refused induction but was released on a habeas corpus writ.

Lopez Pacheco characterized the unpublicized suspension of prosecutions as "an attempt to save face" by the federal government. He attributed it, in particular, to the case of Florencio Merced Rosa, whose attorneys recently won a motion for convening a 3-judge panel which will consider the constitutionality of drafting Puerto Ricans.

. . . And the pure light within you, Guide your way on."

by David McReynolds

The WRI Triennial Conference survived. That is the first and perhaps the most important thing one can say about it. As the staff organizer for the conference I know how badly it was planned, how many things were left undone that ought to have been done. But the conference survived. 250 persons came together, many of them remaining for the entire week of August 25-31. We came together both to observe Gandhi's Centenary and to plan the work of the international pacifist movement in the three years ahead.

The Conference "worked." How it worked, or why it worked, I am not sure, but in one sense I believe it was just because of the poor organization and the lack of preparation that there was enough "looseness" for people to realize their own involvement was important.

"Three High Points"

There were three high points to the Conference—at least for me. One came on Wednesday morning when Bob Eaton, who had led one of the Conference Commissions on Tuesday, was sentenced to prison. Vo Van Ai, Devi Prasad, and Martin Niemoller were called as character witnesses for him while outside the courtroom, down on the sidewalks below, the delegates stood in silent vigil along with Philadelphia Resistance, Quakers, and personal friends of Bob. And then the judge passed sentence (three years) and Bob was gone and the delegates took the train back to Haverford. But everyone of us knew from that instant that the WRI was a special organization, the kind of organization which had to break into its own schedule to bear silent witness as one of its own delegates was taken to prison.

The second high point came that same evening when our West Coast WRL group gave their light show. It was a good show, much better than the earlier version they had put on at the WRL National Conference last year in Denver. There in the darkness of the lobby of the conference hall, people sat on the floor, incense burned, and bottles of beer passed from hand to hand and mouth to mouth, and warm freshly made bread passed around to be shared. I stood at the back of the lobby, near the door where the hot night air waited, and the tears went streaming down my cheek because in the midst of the violence of Vietnam and the brutalization of our own American Left, here was a "light show" that celebrated life, and the beer and the bread were our communion, if a secular movement is allowed to have communion, and because the kids today are—or can be—much better, much sharper than the kids were when I was one of them. And yet there was no age line drawn, there in the darkness, with the lights flickering and the images moving on the improvised screen and the voices of Dave Harris and Joan Baez speaking and singing. And the show ended and we hugged one another and there was some jazz and some guitars going and I drifted off to my dorm, thinking about Dave Harris in jail and Bob Eaton in jail and wondering where Stan Kohls was now.

The first part of the Conference closed on Thursday afternoon and we stood, joined hands, and sang:

"May the long time sun shine 'pon you,
All love surround you
And the pure light within you,
Guide your way on"

A great part of the value of any good conference is the informal discussions that go on after the working day is over: The evening Michel Chartrand spoke with a small group of us, detailing the problems not only of the labor movement in Quebec, but of his own socialist vision; the night I stayed up until 3 a.m. talking with Francois DeLucy and Burt Wallrich and hearing Francois outline, in beautiful French-accented English, his Marxist basis for nonviolence.

"The Problems of International Work"

These are small highlights of a strangely warm and moving gathering, but those highlights and that sense of warmth may obscure for us the problems of international work. There is, to start with, the problem of money. The WRI must depend for its existence on the support of the sections and the sections, in turn, struggle constantly to raise enough money to remain alive. Then the barriers of culture and of language are formidable. The English, Irish, Americans and Australians all speak the same language but there are subtle, real differences among the national cultures involved. This is even more true when discussing the problem of the French, the Germans, the Japanese, etc., where language and culture both loom as barriers.

These barriers became greater as the WRI becomes more genuinely international. When it was founded, in 1921, it was fundamentally a European movement, a Western European movement, and in fact a Western European movement with its strongest base in England. With the passage of time the WRI has become far more international, with a General Secretary from India, and with increasingly active participation from the American and Canadian sections, and with ties to Israel, Africa, Latin America and Japan.

There is emerging slowly the concept of a "transnational" movement, rather than an international movement. That is, a conscious effort is being made to build a sense of community that reaches across national borders altogether, rather than simply bringing together various national sections for international discussions.

The same kind of shift is going on within the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. Though it is impossible to judge what course the IFOR will finally take, the concept of a single world pacifist movement, resulting from a merger of the WRI and the IFOR, has been raised by leaders active in both internationals.

The very fact that the WRI has now had two of its Triennial meetings outside of Europe—the meeting in 1963 took place in India and the 1969 meeting, of course, was held in this country—means that the WRI is seeking in practical terms to be a world movement, rather than an expression of Western European radicalism.

In a world dominated by the insane logic of heavily armed nation states it is necessary for us to build in concrete ways a counter-value—that of a world movement representing the conscience of men and women trapped within those nation states. I have no way of knowing how far along that road the Haverford Conference took us. But I believe it took us at least one step in the right direction.

It is particularly appropriate, with this report of the WRI Conference, to urge Americans to send $1.50 directly to London in order to receive the quarterly publication of the WRI —*War Resistance*. The next issue will contain a full report of the Conference. Checks should be sent to: WRI. 3 Caledonian Road, London N. 1, England.

NO AMNESTY IN 1947

by Alfred Kuenzli

After World War 2, many people thought that it would be good to have a general amnesty for Selective Service violators who had suffered from various kinds of injustices. A Committee for Amnesty was established, with headquarters at 5 Beekman Street in New York. The late A. J. Muste was chairman.

The honorary chairman was Dorothy Canfield Fisher. Among the sponsors of the committee were Henry Seidel Canby, Harry Emerson Fosdick, William Draper Lewis, Henry Luce, Lillian Smith, and Thornton Wilder.

The secretary of the Group was Albon Man and the publicity director was Jim Peck. Both men had been imprisoned during World War 2.

In the course of the campaign, the committee publicized amnesty by picketing the White House and the Justice Department. On occasion, the demonstrators wore old-style prison suits with black-and-white stripes. This imaginative appeal got attention all over the country and even abroad, especially in Paris.

Various religious organizations went on record in favor of amnesty—including the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the Methodist Church, the Northern Baptist Convention, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Synagogue Council of America, the United Council of Church Women, and the United Lutheran Church in America. The American Civil Liberties Union and the American Veterans Committee also supported the amnesty movement.

In response to all of this concern and agitation, President Truman appointed a three-man Amnesty Board on December 23, 1946. The members were Owen J. Roberts, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, James F. O'Neil, vice-chairman of the American Legion's Americanism commission, and Willis Smith, former president of the American Bar Association.

Minute Number of Pardons

The Amnesty Board reviewed the cases of 15,805 violators of the Selective Service Act and recommended pardons for 1,523 of these persons. President Truman accepted the report and issued a proclamation on December 23, 1947. He granted "a full pardon to those persons convicted of violating the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 as amended, whose names are included hereto and hereby made a part of this proclamation."

Strong editorial protests were made by *The Christian Century, The Nation, The New York Herald Tribune, The Washington Post,* and other periodicals. The members of the Committee for Amnesty were outraged. They picketed the White House, dressed in funeral attire and bearing a coffin marked "Justice."

The committee published a devastating pamphlet entitled "Still No Amnesty." The authors pointed out that "neither the Board nor the President appear to be aware of what amnesty is." Their point was that the term "amnesty" is usually applied to whole groups of offenders. It is an act of reconciliation on the part of governments whereby people who have been criminally opposed to a government are restored to their full rights as citizens.

When he pardoned 1,523 persons out of 15,805 cases, President Truman did not declare an amnesty in the usual sense. What he did should not really be regarded as an amnesty at all. He simply pardoned a few people, about 10% of the cases. The other 90% are still "criminals" today and continue to suffer from restrictions in their civil rights. In some states, these men cannot vote or hold public office.

The Committee for Amnesty noted that after the Board was appointed, two out of three of the members became leaders in the campaign for universal military training. The question was raised as to "whether advocates of a new conscription were the best choice to render fair decision concerning men who had opposed a previous conscription."

Many of the objectors during World War 2 were poorly educated, inarticulate, unaware of their rights, and did not know where to go for advice. "Over and over again, conscientious objectors in prison met fellow objectors who had supposed that they were alone in their beliefs, who had never heard of pacifist organizations or known about the historic peace churches."

Many Excluded

The Board considered the cases of men who asserted no religious training or belief—who founded their objections on intellectual, political, or sociological convictions resulting from individual reasoning. In a classic sentence, the Board reported on these cases as follows: "We have not felt justified in recommending those who thus have set themselves up as wiser and more competent than society to determine their duty to come to the defense of the nation."

The Committee for Amnesty was highly concerned about Negroes who refused to serve in a "Jim Crow" army, Puerto Rican nationalists who believed they owed no allegiance to the United States, and Hopi Indians whose beliefs prohibited their participation in war. Justice was not done to these groups, however, in the proclamation of 1947.

Probably the most serious injustice was committed in the case of the Jehovah's Witnesses. The Board considered some 4,300 members of this sect who had refused military service as well as duty in civilian public service camps. The Board stated: "We have not reommended for pardon any of those secular workers who have witnessed in their spare or nonworking time."

In effect, the Board made a determination as to which members of a religious denomination are ministers and nonministers. And that is a remarkable judgment for the state to make with regard to a church!

The recommendations of the Board narrowed the definition of conscientious objection to persons trained in an institutionalized and generally accepted religious faith. The Board discriminated against political and sociological objectors. It refused to recognize the whole concept of individual responsibility and reasoning in the development of conscience.

There was no amnesty in 1947. There was no justice in 1947. There was no reconciliation in 1947. Most of the men who refused to kill or be killed in World War 2 remain among us today as second-class citizens.

CONFERENCE IMPRESSIONS

Jeannette Rankin, WRLer and former congresswoman who voted against both world wars.

WRL Chairman Igal Roodenko greets the assembled delegates.

A brief intermission

Bob Eaton, who on the 3rd day was sentenced to 3 years for refusal to accept alternative service. Delegates adjourned for a mass vigil on his behalf.

Janaki Tschannerl of India, Martin Niemoller of Germany and Alfred Hassler of the U.S. on dais during one of the talks.

Bill Sutherland of Tanzania and Juanita Nelson of the U.S. discuss a fine point.

Photos by Theodore Hetzel